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Vol No. 114

"The Coimbatore District Congress Committee, Coimbatore"

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MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS RETAINED FILE NO.

~~Extracts from:~~ miscellaneous Sundries.

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Pages 1 to ~~38~~ 37

1919-1942

THE COIMBATORE DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

COIMBATORE.

I. Mr. Pagadala Narasimhalu Naidu Garu should be given the honour and credit of having been the first and foremost nationalist of this Coimbatore City and the district. He seems to have taken some part along with our Veteran National leaders in organising and conducting the Indian National Congress when it first held its annual sessions at Madras.

There was some political stir in Coimbatore City during the Bengal partition days and a Swadeshi stores was started by the Capital subscribed by a few among the educated section of its citizens of whom the late Mr. C.V. Venkataramana Iyangar deserves mention.

The Home Rule agitation started by Mrs. Annie Beasant was responsible for awakening the educated public to some extent from deep political slumber. When Mrs. Beasant, Mr. G.S. Arundale and Mr. Wadia were placed under internment in this city, it stirred up the patriotic feelings of the young student community and roused the courage of the elders for a bit of agitation. Mr. N.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar B.A., B.L., a lawyer with ability and enthusiasm came forward to take very active part in politics. During the Khilafat agitation the muslim masses were suddenly roused to a high pitch of fervour and devotion to the national movement under the leadership of Mahathma Gandhi and Ali Brothers. Mr. N.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar, Mohamad Sultan Sahib, Mr. Subramania Rande, Mr. Bupathi Palaniappa Naicker and Mr. Mahalinga Iyer were the notable persons of this city taking part and guiding the movement during the years between 1919 and 1922. The Non-co-operation movement gained momentum and strength in the city and district since 1922 and thereafter Coimbatore played a

noteworthy part in the freedom movement. The first batch of patriots who took part in the movement and got arrested and jailed in this district during 1921 were Mr. E.V. Ramaswami Naicker and Mr. K.M. Thanga Perumal Pillai of Erode along with a few volunteers of whom Mr. M.A. Eswaran is one.

During the Nagpur Flag fight in 1923 this district had the privilege to send ~~three~~ four volunteers over there and they are the following (1) Mr. K.V. Raghavendra Rao (2) Mr. C.P. Viswanathan (3) Mr. K. Subramanian Alias Subri and (4) Mr. M.A. Eswaran.
On the constructive side Tirupur sprang up to prominance by producing hand spun and hand woven Khadi and it has ever since maintained its name and fame as the largest Khadi producing centre in the whole of India.

The following is the list of names of Veterans Congress workers in the district during 1920 to 30.

<u>Coimbatore City.</u>

1. Mr. Subramania Rande
2. " Bupathi Palaniappa Naicker
3. " N.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar
4. " Mohamad Sultan Sahib
5. " V. Mahalingan Iyer
6. " C.P. Subbiah
7. " K. Subramaniam alias subri
8. " C.A. Ayyamuthu
9. " G. Kuppuswami Naidu
10. " C.A. Ayyaswami Gownder
11. " N. Subramania Iyer
12. " C.N. Gopal Ratnam.

<u>Tirupur</u>

1. " K.S. Ramaswami Gownder
2. " K.R. Eswaramurthy Gownder
3. " K.P. Karuppanna Chettiar
4. " K.V. Krishnaswami Iyer
5. " Venkatappa Gownder

<u>Erode</u>

1. " E.V. Ramaswami Naicker
2. " K.M. Thanga Perumal Pillai
3. " M.A. Eswaran

<u>Gobi</u>

1. " K.K. Subbanna Gownder
2. " P.S. Muthuvelappa Gownder
3. " Kijappa Gownder

Dharapuram.

1. Mr. M.P. Kuppuswami Gownder

Udamelpet.

1. " N. Velappa Naidu
2. " Mrs. Savithri Ammal
3. Mr. Periyanna Gownder.

The Salt satyagraha movement and subsequent Civil dis-obedience movements roused the country as well as this district to such a great extent as to make it play a valiant part in the freedom struggle. Patriot Kumaran fell a victim to brutal lathi charge at Tirupur in 1932 and two others Mr. B.S. Sundaram and Raman Nair and N. Subramania Iyer who is still alive just escaped death in spite of severe beatings that broke their limbs and confined then to hospital beds for several weeks. During the last Quit-India movement the Textile labour organisation under the leadership of N.G. Ramaswami participated in the movement while a section under Communist leadership was antagonistic to the movement. The total number of political sufferers in this district is about 800 and a separate list of their names is herewith furnished.

The following is a list of prominent persons among them.

Coimbatore.

1. Mr. T.S. Avanashilingan Chettiar
2. " T. Raghavachari
3. " R.A. Shanmuga Devar
4. " Muthukrishnan
5. " C. Subramaniam
6. " V.C. Palaniswami Gownder
7. Mrs. V.C. Palaniswami Gownder
8. Mr. K. Abdul Rahim
9. Dr. C. Nanjappa
10. Mr. Kunaiyan
11. " R. Kuppuswami
12. " K.P. Thiruvengadam
13. " K.R. Ramaswami
14. " Chinnadorai
15. " N.G. Ramaswami

Pollachi

1. Mr. P.R. Kandaswami Gownder
2. " V.K. Palaniswami Gownder
3. " O.S. Palaniswami Gownder

Gobi

1. " P.S. Nalla Gownder

Satty

1. " S.A. Narayana Sastry
2. Mrs. S.A. Narayana Sastry

Kengarpalayam Setty

1. Mr. K.N. Ponnambalam
2. " Natesa Gownder

Bhavani

1. " B.K. Nallaswami
" " Rangaswami Reddiar

Dharapuram

1. " D. Vadivelu

Kodumudi

1. " K.M. Magudapathi

Mettupalayam

1. " Abdul Salam Azad

Palladam

1. " R.M. Kumaraswami
2. " P.K. Ramaswami

II & III. The Khilafat Sangams which contributed greatly to political awakenings during 1919 to 1926 have left no trace now. The Congress organisation is no doubt flourishing in full swing.

4. No records are available now.
5. No.
6. Please refer to No. I.
7. The names underlined in the lists are still alive.
8. Nil.
9. The Officials in service directly and the justice party indirectly.
10. Poet Bharathi's patriotic songs in common with other Tamil districts.
11. Coimbatore City and Tirupur Town
12. No.
13. No.
14.

14. The following ladies took part in the movement and went to jail.

1. Mrs. P.D. Asher--Tirupur.
2. Mrs. S.A. Narayana Sastfy--Satty
3. Mrs. T. Raghavachari--Coimbatore
4. Mrs. K. Subramaniam--Coimbatore
5. Srimathi ~~Bagirathi~~ Baghavathi Amma
6. Mrs. Rajam Iyer--Pollachi
7. Mrs. B.S. Sundaram--Tirupur
8. Mrs. C.A. Ayyamuthu--Coimbatore
9. Mother of B.S. Sundaram--Tirupur
10. Mrs. Savithri Ammal--Udamelpet

Mrs. K.K. Subhanna Gownder and Mrs. V.C. Palaniswami Gownder who took part in Individual Satyagraha were not sentenced to imprisonment though they were kept in remand for a whole to be let off afterwards.

15. Yes, to the earnest? possible.

<u>Coimbatore</u>

Mr. J. Samuel
" B.S. Sundaram

<u>Erode</u>

" R.C. Krishnan
" K.M. Ramaswami
" M. Subbiah
" P.R. Kandaswami

<u>Gobi</u>

" K.P. Chenniappan
" G.S. Lakshmanan
" P.V. Marannan
" K.P.V. Giri
" S.K. Sami Gownder

<u>Palladam</u>

" P.S. Rangaswami
" K.V. Ramaswami

<u>Avinashi</u>

" R. Bettaian
" M.K. Venkataswami
" K. Chidambaram

<u>Udamelpet.</u>

" T.K. Sritharan Pillai
" S.R. Natarajan
" Mahalingam Pillai

--:0:--

The following is the summary translation of the Tamil report sent by the NILGIRI DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE about the Freedom Struggle in their district.

-:oOo:-

The following persons took part in the movement and their services

***

Sri A.M.Saravanam,
Kodappa Mandu,
Ootacamund,NILGIRI DISTRICT.

***

From 1930 onwards, he is an active member of the Congress. Engaged himself in Harijan uplift work. Held various posts in the Congress party in his district. In 1941 he took part in the Anti-war Satyagraha movement and went to prison. During the ~~August~~ "Quit India" movement in 1942 he was arrested, and given a sentence of three and a half years of simple imprisonment. At present he is the Secretary to the Nilgiri district Congress Committee. He is aged 56

Sri M.Ranga Gowder,
President, Ootay Taluk Congress Committee,
Nanjanad post, (Nilgiris).

***

An active member of the Congress party from 1937 ~~xxxx~~ onwards. Held membership in the various committees of the Congress Party in the Nilgiri district. In 1947 he participated in the Satyagraha Movement in the Native States and courted imprisonment He is ~~x~~a member of the Taluk Prohibition Committee from 1953. Engaged himself in the Harijan and Adivasi (tribal people) uplift work in his own district.

Sri B. Tatta Gowder
Muthukula, Pallakola post,
Pallakola- Nilgiris.

***

He is an active Congress worker in thevillage of Muthukula from 1939 onwards. He is interested in Khadi and social work.

Sri K. Madan,
Pallakola
Palla Kola post,
Nilgiri District.
***

From 1939 onwards, he remains as an active Congress Worker in his own village of Pallakola, taking part in the Khadi and Prohibition works.

Sri K.C.Varadarajulu Chettiar
O.M.C.Market,
Ootacamund - Nilgiris.
***

An active Congress Worker in Ooty from 1922 onwards. During the "Quit India" movement of 1942, he went into underground and worked for the independence of the Country.

Sri C. Linga Gowder,
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post,
Nilgiris.
***

Member of the Congress from 1937. In 1942 during the "Quit India"Movement he carried out the constructive programme, from underground. He takes an active part in the Congress activities in his village.

Sri K.J.Karchan,
Palla Kola,
Palla Kola Post, Nilgiris.
****

From 1939 onwards he is serving the Congress in his own village as an active worker.

Sri Y.K.Siva Gowdar
President,
Coonoor Taluk Congress Committee,
Yedapalli, Springfield Post,
Nilgiris.
***

He is an active member of the Congress from 1930. During the Salt Satyagraha movement in 1931, he picketted before the

toddy shops in Coonoor as the captain of the team. In 1940 he was one of those who enrolled themselves for the Anti-War Satyagraha movement. During the "Quit India" Movement on 2nd October 1942 he violated section 144 and hoisted the National flag in defiance of the prohibitary order of the Government for which he was given rigorous imprisonment for one week. He resigned his membership in the district Board in 1939 following the order of the Congress High Command.

Sri S. Kakkamalla Gowder,
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post.,
N i l g i r i s.

****

An active member of the Congress in his village of Ooranalli from 1937.

Sri A. Ranga Gowder,
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post,
Nilgiris.

***

From 1937 onwards he serves the Congress as an active worker.

Sri J. Linga Gowder,
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post.,
Nilgiris.

***

An active member of the Congress from 1937 in his own village. In 1942 he participated in the "Quit India" movement.

Sri G.Chennaiyappan
Store House, P.W.D.C.No.1412.
Ootacamund, Nilgiris.

****

He took part in the "Quit India" Movement in 1942. Along with some prominent leaders of his district; he printed objectionable ~~articles~~ leaflets secretly and distributed them among the

masses; trying to spread the movement in his area. In the town of Avinasi along with Chidambara devar; he went to shops police stations; courts and other government offices, and persuaded in vain the policemen, vakils the magistrate and other government officers to resign their jobs and take part in the movement. For this seditious action he was arrested along with others, taken to the police station. There he was mercilessly beaten by the police, for his open seditious propaganda in the market places and before government officers. The blows and kicks given to him were so unbearable and heavy; that he became unconscious at the police station itself. He was tried and convicted and given a sentence of imprisonment for 18 months, which he spent with other political convicts in the Alipore Central Jail. From his boyhood days he was inspired by nationalism and inspite of his poverty he spent his all in national activities. He lost his aged mother while he was in prison whom he could persuade with great difficulty to allow him to take part in the national struggle, in 1942. His arrest and imprisonment was a great blow and shock to her and she died without recovering from it. Ever since he enrolled himself as a Congress member, he is taking active interest in the service to villagers and Hand-loom weavers.

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OTTAPALAM DISTURBANCES.

(Furnished by Sri S. Rangarajan)

From the HINDU dated 5th July 1921.

A press communique regarding the occurrences at Ottapalam in Malabar District on 26th April issued to-day sets out the official facts and concludes as follows: "The Government have read in the "Hindu" newspaper a report appearing over the signatures of five persons viz., (1) T.Prakasam (2) Syed Murtuza (3) George Jeseph (4) L.A. Subbarama Iyer and (5) K.P. Kesava Menon. This report purports to give an account in detail of the occurrences at Ottapalam on the 26th April and makes certain allegations against the police. The Government have authorised the Superintendent of Police Mr.Hitch cock to file a suit for damages against the signatories to this report and the Editor and Proprietor of the 'Hindu' newspaper. The Emergency committee report on the incidents at Ottapalam on 26th April is published in the 'Hindu' dated May 11, 1921. (It runs into more than a full printed page)

Commenting on the report the Hindu of the same date observes editorially under the heading "Provocation"; "What time apostates like Sir William Vincent are whispering soft nothings into the gratified ears of representatives like Mr.Thomas and Mr. Rangachari, Mr.Thomas stands forth as a shining exemplar of an order of beings whose day, if we are to accept assurances at face value, is fled never to return. He is of the type of the strong silent man portrayed by Kifling who bears on his shoulders the burden of the well-being of a few millions of irresponsible and ignorant black men. They never know what is good for them and have occasionally to be chastised in a stern but kindly spirit. They are prone to be led away by agitators and have to be brought back into the fold by a judicious mixture of sternness and solicitude. To a man with such a high ideal of duty before him it is almost axiomatic that he should not tolerate anything that could in the least disturb the plecid contentment of his flock. To such men as Mr.Thomas the appeal issued by the Government to its officers to combat the Non-co-operation move

ment by every means in their power is entirely superfluous. Mr.Thomas guards his pass whoever else may faint heartedly truckle to the forces of ~~th~~ sedition. And to do him justice he has succeeded in transmitting in its entirety that indomitable spirit to his subordinates so much so that, it is a matter for wonder that the inevitable explosion has been delayed so long. It is a little difficult to believe that the delay in an eventuality, which Mr.Thomas has come so much believe a regrettable necessity as might cause him some disappointments of a detached character if it does not materialise, could be entirely due to the incarceration of Mr.Yakub Hassan and his associates. The reason for putting them into gaol was of course that the flaming torch is safest away under lock and key when there is combustible material about. ~~Why~~ One wonders why, since the policy seems to be a fatalistic acceptance of inevitable trouble, these leaders were clapped into gaol, except it were as a kind of the touch-stone of the people's belief in non-violence. That belief has hitherto stood its trials exceedingly well. In the way of incitement to disorder Mr.Thomas is a host in himself. One has ~~read the xxxx~~ only to read the report of his attempts to play the heavy father which will be found ~~xxxx~~ in the congress Notes, published elsewhere, to recognise that he is an adept performer in the minatory role, that is a more successful provocative of defiance than a direct incitement. The incidents at Ottapalam, the report of ~~me~~ the Non-official on which ~~is~~ will be found elsewhere, show how ably Mr.Thomas' efforts are being seconded. The only difference being that while Mr.Thomas waves the Big stick figuratively, this assistants do it in a more literal sense. It is clear however, as the committee point out, there is behind both the same spirit of provocativeness which is graphically described as "asking for trouble". The facts, adduced by the Committee suffice to them that it was not a mere ebullition of animal spirits on the part of a few policemen trying to earn their pay but a manifestation, evade, if you will, of policy of stamping out the movement by all the members in the power of officialdom. It is a policy which can have only one result.

In the circumstances so far as Malabar is concerned the Government communique is certainly superfluous. But whatever the measure of the provocation, the duty of leaders and followers in that sorely-tried district is clear. The peace must be preserved at all costs, however difficult self-restraint may be. Recent unhappy happenings elsewhere in India have shown that in this present campaign every disturbance is a valuable contributory to the victory of our bureaucratic--cum--moderate opponents, Just as every practical exhibition of the creed of Non-violence at Ottapalam, Multhipet and Chittagong is an additional step towards ~~natxixxa~~ nationhood.

OPEN LETTER TO LORD CHELMSFORD BY VLL. SASTRI.

From the Hindu dated 9-1-1920.(Furnished by Sri S.Rangarajan)

"It is no news to your Lordship that the whole country has unanimously voiced forth, in no faltering terms, that your Excellency should be recalled without any further delay. Public meetings during the last eight--in fact nine--months have been crying hoarse that you should at least be recalled, if not impeached. Our National Assembly in one body, a couple of days ago prayed HIM for your immediate recall. . . . .

"My blood curdles and breezes when I think of the Jallianwalla Bagh murders. .... How could you sanction or ratify cold-blooded massacres of Indian men, women and innocent children? Does not an Indian bleed if he is hurt? Does not an Indian die if he is shot? Is he less of a man than you and those who are dear to you? Is there no emotion, no affection, no love of humanity in you, My Lord? If you had a trace of these qualities, how could you see our dear men, women and children butchered in cold blood when they were unarmed? We poor Indians cannot carry arms except under license which is more often refused than granted to us. . . . . .

"Your Lordship ordered Martial Law to fight an imaginary rebellion in the Punjab. Your Lordship got far better statesmen than yourself tried by the Martial Law in the Punjab and sent them to jail. Your Lordship acquisced in the mal-administration of O'Dwyer, and the messacres of that fiend with no heart, Dyer. Is it not the acme of cruelty and bankruptcy of statesmanship in you Lordship?. . . . .

"In the name of self-respect I request your Lordship to resign your Viceroyalty".

(2) Leader in the 'Hindu' dated 3-1-20 under the heading "Indians in British East Africa":

"The colonial Office is confronted with a problem of immense importance in the situation which has been created in British East Africa by the selfish policy of the European settlers. It is a cruel irony of fate that, when it is the Indian community there that, by reason of the colonising

work it has accomplished, is entitled to claim the province as its own, the European immigrants should now seriously put forward proposals for its practical extinction. Indians ask for the power of franchise, educational facilities, an adequate representation in the councils, and equality of opportunities and no one who knows that the developments of the colony has been entirely due to the pioneer efforts of Indians can, in common honesty, refuse them these demands. But the European exploiters, unmindful of the fundamental fact that they are the inturders who have reaped enormous benefits out of the labour of Indians, have now started a movement for ousting the latter from their position and reducing them to mere helots. A handy weapon in the shape of a resolution of the Imperial conference has been taken hold of by them. In 1918 the following resolution was passed at the conference held in London:-

"It is an inherent function of the government of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control over the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any other community." Supposing that the principle applies to parts of the Empire other than the Dominions and India, it is clear that it is not the European immigrants that should call for its application but the Indian Colonists who have made British East Africa what it is. It is, in the circumstances a most infamous proceeding on the part of these people to demand the right of self-determination as they call it and no claims can be more improper, unrighteous or revolting than those pressed by these people to deny Indians franchise, prevent them from acquiring land except in townships on short leases, cease their employment in Government service and restrict ~~restis~~ Asiatic immigration. There can in fact, be no blacker record in colonial history than this bare faced attempt to oust Indians from a position which they have built up at great sacrifice and with commendable enterprise and ability."

(3) From the 'Hindu' leader dated 19-1-20 titled "Retaliatory Machinery":

"We publish today a further instalment of comments from British papers on the ghoulish tragedy at Amritsar. . . . . We invite particular attention to the comments of the "Nation" showing as they do that the much--derided non-conformist conscience, which has throughout the course of British history been foremost in denouncing injustice and evil all over the world, is still active. It is something that the British public has not yet lost its capacity for being shocked or that, unlike of Laodicean leaders, it refuse to suspend its Judgment, on a foul deed till a committee has decided whether or not there are any extenuating circumstances . . . . . . It is necessary to analyse Mr.Montague's position in respect of the Punjab. Mr.Montague was broadly aware of the facts of the episode. He was in daily, perhaps hourly, communication with the Viceroy. He was kept in ignorance, he says, for eight months, of the details of the O'Dwyerian frightfulness. There is no evidence that at any time he pressed for fuller information. There is, on the other hand, very clear evidence that he tried to hush up the revelation of the Punjab happenings or to postpone it and that certain moderate leaders ~~from~~ form mistaken views of expendiency helped him in this. Thus it happened that ~~the~~ while the whole of India was seething with horror and indignation, Mr.Montague had made for himself a sort of local paradise, an oasis for himself and his henchmen in England. So far as Mr.Montague is concerned there has been a blatant failure of duty in comparison with which the mistakes of past FAINEANTS fade into insignifacance. Mr.Montague pleads for a suspension of Judgement, for a fresh postponement till some hypothetical date when the Hunter Committee shall have concluded its enquiry. An uneasy conscience is not the best of incentives to dispassionate advice. . . . ."What of the future? Our moderates have definitely repudiated all ideas of further agitation. Mr.Montague repudiated it and so they would have ~~xxxx~~ none of it. Lord Sinha in his wisdom has demonstrated the futility of agitation. Law and Order, he thinks, must for sometime to come be in charge

of the bureaucracy. Mr.Montague has been responsible for many happy phrases. He has now coined one of which he may on reflection be less proud but which is not less apt than its fellows. 'Retaliatory machinery' is a very good description of the spirit in which the bureaucracy has interpreted and will go on interpreting its responsibility for Law and Order. If we understand the meaning aright retaliation means going ~~out~~ one better than your opponent. It is not a case of an eye for an eye or a tooth for tooth. It is a life for an eye, a sort of compound interest scale such as general Dyer gave a practical demonstration of. If Law and Order implies 'retaliatory mechinery' does anyone seriously think that in the Moderate millenium minor Jallianwallas are impossible?

(4) From the Hindu leader dated 21-1-20 under the heading "Pampering the Services".

"When the report of the Public Service Commission was after some delay published, it was considered even in responsible quarters that the recommendations made were obsolete. If India had outgrown the proposals then, it needs hardly any argument to demonstrate the fact that the present conditions demand an altogether different more generous treatment of the important question untrammelled by the limitations existing seven years ago. The commission was primarily appointed for the purpose of considering how Indian could be more largely employed in the higher spheres of Government service and it stands to reason that any decision launched now should be based not on the suggestions contained in that Report but on the requirements felt at the present moment, ... It is with the utmost anxiety therefore that the Indian public are following the periodical issue of ukases from the India Office ~~entrance~~ enhancing the emoluments and improving the prospects of the services recruitted, in England. While the principal grievances of indigenous talent have yet to be redressed the pay and pensions of the services are being increased in indecent haste to an extent not even contemplated or recommended by the public services Commission. The other day we referred to the changes introduced in regard to

the Indian Educational Service and they have been followed by other despatches of more moment calculated to throw additional heavy burdens on Indian finances and render the solution of the problem of bringing succour to the indifferently-treated subordinate and clerical services somewhat difficult. It is an undoubted fact that the service is the best-paid in the world and that the top-heavy administration is a dragon Indian. . . . . .

"The pampering of the services is proceeding on a prodigious scale and when the process is completed India will have bitter reason to regret more than she has done till now why the commission was appointed at all."

(6) From the Hindu leader dated 31-1-20 titled "The Viceroy's Speech":-

"The speech of His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the session of the Imperial Council will fall extremely flat upon the public ear. A determination to look only at the bright side of things is not necessarily a defect in a statesman but under the present circumstances the Viceroy's meticulous avoidance of a subject which has been agitating the public mind so violently is apt to leave bad taste in one's mouth. Indeed one cannot resist the impression, reading between the lines of his speech, that the dominant note was one of sulkiness.

To begin with a topic on which the Viceroy managed to spread himself to some purpose, the Reforms, His Excellency is as usual self-conscious and cannot resist the temptation to do a little mild performance on the tin horn. His emphasis on the spade work that has been and is being performed in India.--"under my supervision" -- seems to suggest an anxiety that all the statues should not be dedicated to Mr.Montague. .

"Over the other points in the Viceroy's speech we need not waste much space. South Africa, East Africa and Indians overseas the frontier and beyond are subjects interesting in themselves but can hardly be compared in interest to the one which the Viceroy's was careful to avoid. There is also

a comic touch in his patulent reference to Sir Sankaran Nair's appointment. He was careful in fact tearfully anxious, to prove that the appointment was in no way a snub to himself, because he himself approved of it. The Viceroy is not apparently hyper-sensitive to such trifles as snubs but to the average man it would seem that the appointment--whether with rare consistency the Viceroy approved of it or not of a man who had resigned on a vital matter of policy is in the nature of, to use the Viceroy's own phrase., a "slap in the face." His Excellency must be left free to ruminate at leisure on the thorny question: when is a snub not a snub? The nearest approach the Viceroy made to a reference to the present discontents was in the guise of the concluding quotation", Now is the winter of our discontent made glorious summer by this sun of York." There was no reference to the amnesty, to the horrible disclosures of General Dyer, to responsibility of his Government in acts of SUPPRESSOVERI, in fact to none of those matters which has led public opinion to regard him as the most conspicuous failure in a list redolent with the names of many eminent nonentities. One is tempted to ask why? Was it because the policy embodied in the Royal Proclamation had not the Viceroy's active support? Does the Viceroy, while singing halleluzahs, for the millenium, still cherish a secret belief in the abiding virtue of O'Dwyerism? Does the velvet glove, threadbare by their time, still conceal the iron hand? Perhaps some of our leaders so solicitous about the feelings of the tin Gods will find the answer. For ourselves we see no particularly bright future with a truncated scheme of Reforms, a step-motherly guardian in the Services and a Viceroy whose Jejune utterances are more remarkable for what they do not say than for the trite commonplaces that have become the stock-in-tradeof the new dispensation."

(6) From the 'Hindu' leader. 'The Reward of virtue' dated 4-2-20.

"The history of the Moderates from their definite secession from the Congress exhibits a singular bankruptcy in principles of political action and it is no wonder that from the loudly

proclaimed "better mind of India" the Moderate party should now have declined into an appanage of officialdom; a sort of snapper-up of unconsidered trifles such as the bureaucracy in its infinite mercy may let fall. . . . .

All these gentlemen who are now agog to help in the ushering in of the Montaguite utopia were stalwart critics of the scheme when it was published. They all damanded modifications, substantial ones and declared firmly and uncompromisingly that they were not going to be happy till they got them. Then in some mysterious fashion they began to suffer from cold feet. They were nervous about the Bill which must be saved at any cost from the ravening Jaws of the Sydenhamites. So one by one they dropped their trucilent tone and ceased to talk about minimum demands and essential modifications. They only gently hinted they would be pleased if the Bill could be a little improved. It is not difficult to discern the Roaman hand of Mr.Montague in this new Orientation. . . . .

"The defect in the Moderate position is they have not the clear call as a distinct party, called into existence to serve Mr.Montague's need they have outlined their usefulness as a distinct entity.

The Congress, whatever its defects, ungrateful, unrepresentative, unreasoning as it has been described by its "friends was at least able to give a definite lead which Nationalists all over the country could follow with loyal devotion. It was the Voice of India. The Moderates, leaders without a following are each a law unto himself. Their confidence had no authority could give no mandate. It is so difficult to elicit a sufficiently authoritative mandate from empty chairs and flower-pots. But there is balm in gilead. The moderates may not convince the people; they can always find a cosy corner in the bosom of the bureaucracy.

(7) From the Hindu leader titled "The King Emperor's message" dated 25-12-1919.

"The Indian Reform Bill has become law and has been sped on its fateful mission with a Message from H.M. The King-Emperor which will bring him close to the hearts of the Indian people. It is only fitting that the inauguration of a new era should be marked by a pronouncement from the first citizen of the Imperial Democracy which in itself constitutes an important state document. His Majesty's sympathy with his Indian subjects is well known and has been warmly acclaimed at frequent occasions all over the country. At a time when the bureaucracy was puzzled by the spirit of unrest created by the spread of education in India and developed by wider world forces and was inclined to regard it as a kind of Frankenstein's monster, he boldly called for a larger infusion of sympathy in the spirit of British rule in India. Later, on his accession to the throne, he took the first step in raising India to that new status which, in theory at least, has now placed her on an equal footing among the nations which are the trustees of the peace of the world by being crowned in this country as Emperor . . . . . . Disappointment is the common lot of patriotism but it is something that political agitation has at last come into its own, that from the obloquy, suspicion and repression, that was its daily portion during its growth it has at last come to earn the high encomium of the King-Emperor when he said:- "I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of my Indian people for representative institutions. Starting from small beginnings this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intellects of the country. It has pursued its course along constitutional channels with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit which at times and in places lawless men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the guise of patriotism. It has been stirred to more vigorous life by the ideals for which the British Commonwealth fought in the great war and it claims support in the part India has taken in our common struggles, anxieties and victories".

"As an earnest of the new order of things His Majesty has proclaimed a general amnesty for political prisoners to the fullest possible extent compatible with public safety. . . . To Indian opinion which holds that the vast majority of these men have been unjustly convicted in a time when the machinery of Government was wrested from its true course by panic a general amnesty ~~of Govern~~ would appear to be a bare act of Justice. Much more will reamain to be done if the country is to start with a clean slate towards the destiny which ~~is~~ it is His Majesty's fervent hope she may achieve. The honour and justice of British rule remains yet to be vindicated by the suitable punishment of these whose actions, however well-intentioned, have resulted in an orgy of homicidal mania. There is no room in the new dispensation for people, however highly placed, who helped in any degree to achieve that discreditable Punjab episode. And it must further be remembered that the Punjab affair was no isolated outcrop of atavistic primitiveness. It was the culmination of a long series of repressive measures aimed at the liberty of the person, freedom of speech, of the press and of public meetings. It is an indispensable condition to success that these civil rights should be restored. Self-Government cannot be built on the insecure foundations of a servile state."

Papers Recd. from Sri S. Rangarajan. 23

TAMIL NAD PROVINCIAL CONGRESS BULLETIN. -22-

OUR WORK NOW.

After taking stock of events and achievements in the Congress Campaign so far, and after very anxious and careful thought as to the direction of future work, the leaders, have come to the conclusion which Dr. Kichlew the Acting President of the Congress will soon announce. It is this. That while we should keep up other activities, the best part of our man-power and resources should be employed for the next three months on vigorous boycott propaganda among consumers throughout the country. Picketing by itself is not enough.

BUREAUCRACY'S PLAN.

After vainly attempting to crush the Congress in 1930, the then Secretary of State and the Viceroy entered into a truce with Gandhiji in March 1931. The Civil Service of India never approved of that policy of Conciliation and sought an early opportunity to get that policy revoked. They prepared for it all the time that Mahatmaji was in England, and as soon as he landed in India, they forced the Government to resume hostilities on 4th January 1932. The British people are mostly interested in British Trade in India. The Civil Service gave out that if they were given power they would successfully crush Congress and then the good people of India would again be buying British cloth, British Soap, British bicycles, British Cocoa, etc. They pursuaded the new British cabinet to believe that peace with Congress meant added prestige and influence to Congress, and increasing assertion of national spirit with consequent loss of all chances of revival of British trade. On the other hand, they wanted a chance to put into effect their own policy of repression which if it may not kill nationalism, would at least put off the evil day and give some more time for British exploitation to go on in India.

The new British Government accepted this tempting offer and the Indian Bureaucrats were given the powers they wanted.

GOVERNMENT'S DEFEAT.

The calculations however were falsified. Ordinance rule and Police-raj had full sway for 6 months. The Government armed the Police and District Officers not only with extraordinary powers, but encouraged them to excesses by approbation where censure was due and even by secret promises of indemnity. The Police were trained to suppression of natural humanity and to display of unbridled brutality. Under the pressure of the prevailing unemployment and poverty, Government hirelings forgot their Country and "loyally" served the ends of the Bureaucracy. But after six months of this, it was found that the Congress was just as effective as ever and the boycott of British goods was worse than before. The Government had anxious consultations. At one time it seemed as if better sense would dawn on them. But the evil forces prevailed again. They said to themselves and to the British Government: "We have not yet failed. It is only a drawn battle. Give us more time. We have just succeeded in binding up Congress. The forces in favour of purchasing goods have just been released. Give time and the trade will revive. Send the goods down. We have made a demonstration sufficient to deceive importers. Wait for results. Do not make peace with Congress now and spoil the whole game. What you should do now is to keep up the fight with Congress, make a show of going on with Constitutional reform. Keep the communal issues before the people, and leave the rest to us. We shall see that British cloth and other goods sell". This was the policy of the renewal of the Ordinances and the dumping of goods in July.

THE WAY TO VICTORY.

Our work is therefore clear-cut. All our energy must be directed against British trade, which ultimately depends on our willingness to buy. This is the most vulnerable point of the enemy. If the boycott of foreign cloth and British goods during these three months is stronger than before we shall win. If we slacken it we fail, and our salvation will be postponed. If the people realise the gravity of the issue and fulfil to the best of their ability the following-two-fold programme of personal conduct, we win:

1. Refuse to buy foreign cloth and buy only Khaddar, or Coarse handloom cloth and touch nothing else, however cheap the poison may be.

2. Avoid wasting money on luxuries, and do not buy any imported articles through which the Government make fifty crores of customs revenue.

The British people will soon be disillusioned about the policy of the Civil Service in India and they will come down and ask for terms. Spread the message of boycott. Spread it aggressively. Let them arrest, harass or imprison. Go on with the propaganda in town and village all over the country, by meetings, processions, conversations, reading of leaflets to illiterate or indifferent people, house to house visits, shouting of slogans, ~~ant~~ any and every possible means not involving violence that ingenuity and local conditions can discover.

WIDEN THE BATTLE-FRONT.

Of course, Government will attack us. Propaganda is itself Civil Disobedience. What they do in regard to picketing at shops, they will try to do at every place where we do propaganda. But then the boycott will gain strength. Let us court suffering and imprisonment through this aggressive propaganda. The Government must lock us in prisons or let the propaganda go on. In every town and village patriotic

men should come forward for this work. God will help us. The Great Saint is rotting in prison. You should not go to sleep.

THEREFORE:

Do not be down-hearted. We are nearing our goal. Do not say you are tired. When two well-matched wrestlers fight, if one is tired, the other also is. Then is the time to exert a little more and win.

Do not be frightened by figures of imports. That is how they dump goods. The real struggle is in passing them on to the consumers. We should teach a lesson to the greedy speculators. Look at the effectiveness of the boycott. The feeling against foreign cloth and British goods is stronger now than ever before.

Import of British		28--28.	29-30.	30-31.
	Cloth	40 crores.	33 crores.	12½ crores.
	Yarn	3½ "	33 "	1¼ ".

Do not buy any article that is not absolutely necessary, and indirectly pay customs duty. The simple life is itself an effective non-payment of taxes. Give food and hospitality to Congress workers. Do not refuse it at the bidding of Government or out of fear of persecution. You would be denying your Dharma if you do that.

Do not be frightened by the bogie of fines and forfeitures. The Bureaucracy is not going to rule over us. Under any system of Government as soon as the legislatures are set up, and the members will turn to the people for votes, the fines and forfeitures must be cancelled. Every rupee paid as fine will be returned. No one dare oppose a Bill for this purpose whatever the form of Government may be. The nation must share the damage of individuals to the extent it can be done.

/ true copy /

-26-

Presidential Address by Mr K.P. Raman Menon.

EXTRACT FROM THE HINDU DATED 20TH AUGUST 1917.

(Furnished by Sri Rangarajan)

The following is the full text of the Presidential address delivered by Mr.K.P.Raman Menon at the Coimbatore District Conference held yesterday:--

1. Let me first thank you for the great honour you have done me in calling upon me to preside over your deliberations. I am conscious that I shall be but a poor substitute for the revered lady who would have taken the chair but for certain untoward circumstances and I cannot see why your choice has fallen on me, Quite a novice whose visits to the field of politics as observed by a leading Journal in Madras, are few and far between. Anyhow you have chosen me and in my humble way I shall try to discharge my duty.

2. I am greatly handicapped in being unacquainted with any special grievances that you may have and I shall therefore not touch upon them and I shall content myself with making general observations on the important topics of the day.

3. You are aware, gentlemen, that the political outlook in this country just at present is rather gloomy and that we are now passing through a great crisis in our own fortunes and let me exhort you, and through you others whom you represent, not to be betrayed into doing anything rash and extravagent, anything that may be construed into an act in defiance of the law, for then, Anglo-Indians will make capital out of it. Their principal object now is to convince, if possible, the English democracy that Indians, among other reasons, are not quite fit to be trusted and hence unfit for self-government. Any indiscretion on our part would be treated as affording reasons for withholding our just claims and incessant attempts, would be made to persuade the public of England to believe that notwithstanding the rivers of blood and treasure that India has shed in the course of the war, the people of India cannot as yet be trusted. The position of India among the Dependencies and Dominions that

constitute the British Empire is peculiar. Australia and Canada are the daughters of England same in blood and affinities. India stands on a different level and years of patient work and waiting alone can convince England of the soundness of India's heart, and thanks to the war, we have ~~merely~~ nearly succeeded and let us not for our own sake, be provoked into any indiscreet act by the indiscretions of the Government.

4. I suspect there is more in the present mood of the Indian Government that appears on the face of it. When we find the whilom Bombay Governor, Lord Sydenham, who, according to the "Madras Mail" "has studied public affairs from many points of view as a soldier, as a Colonial Governor and as a Governor of Bombay" striking the same note as Sir Michael O'Dwyer, a member of the Indian Civil Service, and when we find these self-same statements echoed by His Excellency Lord Pentland, a well-known Radical and a Cabinet Minister, we might well-nigh pause and consider why there should be such unanimity of opinion among people of such divergent schools on the question of what share of self-government India should receive. Can it be that Englishmen, whatever school of thought they may belong to, think that equality, liberty and other civic rights are the gifts of Heaven dependent on the whiteness of one's skin? Is it only another phase of triflings "white Man's ~~buden~~ burden?" Another phase of German Junkerism with the difference that the Germans think that they alone are the supermen that Englishmen think that all whitemen are supermen. Surely this cannot be the bond of union between these several spokesmen. The great English nation that has produced a Hampden, a Cromwell, a Washington, a Burke, a Bright, a Wilberforce, a Lincoln and a Galdstone cannot be of that persuasion. Is it then the pace ~~we are~~ that we are advancing that has alarmed the innate conservative instincts of the Englishmen or can it be that the vested interests of the Bureaucrats in India, afraid of absolute power slipping from their hands is naturally putting up a fight for it? I take it that the latter two reasons and chiefly the last have contributed

to the present impasse. When in the first flush of gratitude for the untold services India rendered in the early critical stages of the war, responsible Englishmen from Asquith downwards expressed their appreciation and when such appreciation materialized into the association of the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir Satyendranath Sinha and Sri John Meston in the Councils of the Empire and when, on behalf of the Indians, the Maharaja of Bikaner in England and the Maharaja of Alwar in India, spoke out their minds forcibly and expressed the hope that substantial and radical changes may be made in the system of Government in this country to sympathetic English ears naturally the men on the spot got alarmed and hurriedly forged the weapon of repression and set rolling other forces of a disintegrating nature probably in the hope that some young bloods may be tempted by their impatience, to commit some imprudent act that could be paraded to the British public and made the ground for toning down, as far as possible, changes that are sure to come. Let it, therefore, be the concern of us all to avoid giving a handle to our detractors. Let us therefore be careful in what we do and what we say. Of course I do not mean to suggest that we are to take all high-handed acts lying down. Every method of constitutional agitation and propagandist work may without hesitation be resorted to. It is our duty to make the masses know what really is the reason for their dire poverty, how with real representative government these arbitrary enhancement of land revenue that we complain of will not recur and how with such government nothing can be done in this country by a mere executive order. Let us politically educate the masses and make them alive to their interests. I do not think that there is anything reprehensible in following these methods and no sensible government can say in these circumstances that we are doing wrong.

5. Another argument that is advanced to make it appear that we are not fit for self-government is to say that there is a split in our ranks. I allude to the Non-Brahmin movement. I am as much a Non-Brahmin as Mr.Thyagaroya Chettiar or Dr.Nair is and

I have no quarrel with the movement if its object is to guard with a jealous eye the interests of the Non-Brahmins, to educate them politically and otherwise in order to bring them up to the standard of the Brahmans and to bring about a homogeneity among the various classes of the Non-Brahmin Community. But when the supposed Non-Brahmin organ openly says that representative institution can be allowed to grow up in India only when the Brahmins and Non-Brahmins coalesce into one whole and when all distinctions of caste disappear in India, I am inclined to suspect the genuineness of the concern these gentlemen evince for the cause of the Non-Brahmin because everyone knows that such a consummation, although devoutly wished for, is impossible in the near future. To bring about first a fusion between the various classes of Non-Brahmins is itself a distant prospect, not to speak of their fusion with the Brahmins. Do my friends Dr.Nair or Mr.Thyagaroya Chettiar think that their exhortations would result in the High caste vellala Mudaliar and Nair making common cause with the lowly Panchamas and other castes low down in the scale within an appreciable length of time? It may be that some broadminded men of the superior castes among the Non-Brahmins rise above caste prejudices just as some Brahmins do but that does not be-token real fusion of all castes and if political liberty to Indians is to wait until this goal is realised one might easily affirm that that day is far, far distant. Why should not the various communities trust each other? Why do they not advance together in common bond of fellowship?

6. The idea that if self-government is given to Indians the Brahmins would swampt the Non-Brahmin communities is a gratuitous insult to the latter. Is the Non-Brahmin community so devoid of commonsense and self-respect, and are talented men in the Non-Brahmin community so rare that a proportionate number among them may not be found to share in the common burden of governing the country if self-government is given to us? So far as my community is concerned I can emphatically assert that it is not so, and I know my community much more than Dr.Nair who has scarcely seen

his district more than half a dozen times since the last thirty years! The Nair community is about 14 per cent. of the total population in Malabar and that community held in their hands the reins of government in the pre-British days and after the advent of British rule, we the Nair had to exchange the sword for the pen we readily adapted ourselves to the altered circumstances and we still hold the predominant place in our District. I dare say this is the same in the other districts as well. The great landed classes belong to the Non-Brahmin community, the great commercial and industrial classes belong to the Non-Brahmin community and I again ask, is it not an insult to them to say that when they are called upon to elect their representatives they ~~should~~ would succumb to the cajoleries of the Brahmins? It is pointed out that the elections to the local Legislative Council have resulted in ~~thex~~ a majority of Brahmins being returned and it is sometimes hinted that while I have been unseated in favour of a Brahmin, why I should make common cause with the Brahmin. My answer is that I am not a spoilt child of politics and that I can take a beating without losing my temper and fretting over it as other gentlemen seem to have and ~~I~~ my undoubted conviction is that with a broader electorate the danger is the other way, the Brahmins may be swamped by Non-Brahmins. Almost the whole of the electorates will be composed of them for nobody can contemplate an electorate divorced from the landed interests, from the commerceial and industrial interests and the Brahmins being comparatively few as compared with the Non-Brahmins in all these classes the vast majority of the persons elected will be the Non-Brahmins and I sincerely admire the political wisdom and self-negation of the Brahmins in striving for a goal that will probably minimise the political influence that they now possess in the country. I believe I have made it clear to you, gentlemen, the real genesis of the Non-Brahmin agitation is not to be sought in real danger to the Non-Brahmin community and I greatly doubt if the self-constituted champions of the Non-Brahmin community really think that the interests of their community are likely to be jeopardised by the grant of self-

-31-

~~31~~ 32

government to India. The real secret of this agitation lies elseqhere and it is most probably engineered to create a schism in our serried ranks just as it was successfully done some ten years ago when the country was rent with the cry of the Mussalmans against Hindus. That schism had a retarding influence on the Morley-Minto Reforms and in all probability it is expected to that if sufficient noi se is made to make it appear that the Non-Brahmin community does not desire any particular reforms just yet, the whole scheme of reforms may be indefinitely shelved.

7. There is also another diversion sought to be created by the manifesto of the Zamindars. It is made to appear that the Zamindars are averse to any change in the direction of democratising the government in India and they are sought to be deluded into the belief that their interests will suffer at the hands of the educated middle classes if representative institution are set up in India and men like the Maharaja of Bobbili and Manavedan Rajah of Malabar have signed a manifesto to this effect and it ~~xxxx~~ behoves us to pause and see if there is any reality in their apprehensions, to reconsider our positions and to assure them that popular Government in India does not mean the knell to the influence and the status of our great landed dignitaries. As I said just a moment ago, no franchise can be thought on disconnected with the landed interests and so long as the great landed prop rietors remain landed proprietors, naturally their wealth and influence would count as a great factor in settling the national affairs. I ask the landed aristocracy of India to compare themselves to the landed aristocracy of England. Have not the latter class retained their great power and position in the Councils of the great English Democracy? Are not the Cecils and Russels still in the forefront of English politics, and I fail to see why our aristocracy should apprehend with dismay any democratic concessions in India, I would also ask them to think over what the Maharajah of Alwar and what the Maharajah of Bikaner have said. It cannot be ~~xxx~~ pretended that our titular Maharajahs and Rajahs stand on a footing superior to the Maharajahs who are actual reigning sovereigns and when the

Maharajahs of the latter class have unmistakably said that it is necessary to make the popular voice felt in the Indian Councils and when they have openly said that their aspirations are the same as the aspirations of other popular leaders, the position is reasonably clear that no very great danger is likely to be engendered to the landed classes from a speedy grant of the Reforms that are demanded by the common voice of the educated classes of India. Of course I am not blind to the fact that in the face of democracy privilege of every description will finally vanish, but that is a fact over which no human agency can exercise any control.

8. I believe that it is abundantly clear that there should be no disunion among us, that we should not give room for others to say that because we are a house divided against itself we are unfit for self-government. It should be over constant endeavour to thwart any concerted plan to make it appear that India is not united in seeking self-government.

9. I ask you gentlemen therefore not to afford any room for misunderstanding. Let us, at any rate, if the Government is not, be discreet and let us proceed on the even path of constitutional agitation that has been outlined to us by the Congress and the League.

10. Let us now proceed to consider if as a matter of fact our demands are so outrageous as to set all these insidious forces against us. I mean the scheme promulgated by the nineteen elected members of the Legislative council. Is the scheme so wild so extravagent as to merit all this opposition? Is the scheme a totally new one sprung upon the public all of a sudden, by some hare-brained enthusiast or is it the logical outcome of the political evolution of Indian thought during the last three Quarters of a century. I shall take you rapidly through the different stages of the development of this ideal and no impartial critic will be in a position to say that the Nineteen have adumbrated a scheme which is revolutionary in its very inception. Early

last century about the ~~last century~~ year 1830 or so the Question arose between Lord Ellenborough and Lord Macaulay as to whether Indians should be given English education and it was pointed out to Lord Macaulay that if the Indians were given English education the sway of Englishmen in India might come to an end altogether His Lordship pointed out with the true gift of statesmanship that he possessed that that would be the proudest day for England. He knew very well that English education would break down the barriers of caste, would create a National feeling in the minds of the Indians and he knew very well the manifold advantages that the Indians were going to reap out of English culture, that he was even prepared to look with equanimity Englishmen leaving India for good. I might cite you the parallel cases of Canada and South Africa. When after a great rebellion in Canada free Institutions were granted to Canada wiseacres were not wanting in England who shook their heads and said that Canada was lost to the British Crown. Has the sequel proved so? Are not the Canadians fighting side by side with the English in the cause of the liberties of small nations? The story of South Africa is quite fresh in our minds. When free institutions were granted there, not long after the Boer war, dismal prophecies were made as to South Africa being lost to the British. Here again what is the result? Is not general Smuts, the Whilom commandant of the Boers, the greatest pillar to the British Empire next after Lloyd George? To return from my digression, England gave us an education which England well knew would gradually open our eyes and ~~just~~ make us demand free institutions here, just as in England. Again in various statues, proclamations and ordinances issued by our gracious Sovereign, Queen Victoria, it was always asserted that she made no distinction or difference between her white and her brown subjects. Do not those declarations mean that the same institutions will be set up for the brown races as are in existence for her white subjects? Coming to the discussions in the Indian National Congress; in 1905 Mr.Gokhale and in 1906 Mr.Dada Bhai Naoroji distinctly claimed self-government and in 1908 a written constitution was framed for the Congress in which

the attainment of self-government with the Empire was distinctly set out as the chief aim of the Congress. In 1915 Sir S.P.Sinha as President of the Congress exhorted England to declare her approval of India's cherished ideal of self-government within the Empire. In 1916 Mr.Mazumdar in no unmistakable terms exhorted all Indians to work for the same ideal. When the new Legislative Councils were inaugurated members were given the power to move resolutions in the nature of recommendations to the Government. Any one familiar with the growth of the English constitution must be aware of the fact that the British Parliament also originally made recommendations to His Majesty and that from these recommendations have developed the supreme power that is now vested in the Houses of Parliament. Similarly our recommendations are only the beginnings of real representative Government and when the power to make recommendations is granted it follows that such recommendations are not to be lightly vetoed. Thus it must be reasonably clear to unprejudiced persons that the demands now made have their origin in the remote past and are only the natural development of the rights already vested in us. Now to the scheme itself. As far as I have been able to make out there is not much divergence betweenthe scheme formulated by the Congress and the League and the scheme put forward by the Nineteen. The scheme has been discussed threadbare and I do not mean to add my criticisms thereto; suffice it to say that, as I said before, I adhere to it heart and soul. The only central idea that is clear and ought to be dear to us is the real subjugation of the executive to the representative body. In matters of initiative the power must be in the hands of the representative body and the function of the executive can be only to carry on the government that is to say, its mandates. We have no quarrel with the Indian Civil Service or with the European officers. Our object should be that public servants, ~~White Brown,~~ White or Brown, should not be allowed to be public masters. The masters must be the people and nobody else. Whosoever be the officers, White or dark skinned, they must all be subordinate to the Government whose powers are derived from the representative body. I need hardly say

that the head of the Government as representing the Crown should always have a right to veto any particular measure. This central fact of the representative body being supreme should not be lost sight of an the endeavour of every Indian should be to see that India gets a truly representative institution. The representative body no doubt would be elected by various electorates in which landed and other interests would be adequately represented, and sufficient safeguards would be made for the representation of homogeneous minorities. All these details have been carefully worked out in the scheme so that I do not feel myself called upon to analyse them in detail-

11. Where is the extravagence in this? The short question is, as a lawyer would say, is the Englishmen to be your perpetual master or perpetual friend? No Englishman need be aghast at the seeming impertinence of my question. It has been answered for me by men far greater than any one of these repressionists in India. The marquis Crewe at the great meetings in Guildhall in 1915 said that "He for his part to think that the Association of India and of the Colonies at such a gathering as that was a significant sign of essential comprehension which, as the years rolled on, would, he fully believed, sweep away all these obstacles of distance, of creed, or of race which seemed to interfere with the complete confederation --a union which would hinge upon the free activities of each and which would be finally based upon a common belief in the progress of the whole". Our esteemed Viceroy Lord Hardinge said that India would be "a true friend of the Empire, not a trusty dependent". This and this alone is the true question. Is the high-born Zamindar and the low-born Non-Brahmin prepared to be the friend or dependent of the Englishman. I leave them the answer.

12. The path before us lies clear and well-defined. The above is the aim for which the Congress and the League are striving and on this we must fix our eyes and din this fact into the ears of the masses. It is evidently to stop this political propaganda that repression is thought of and the Government suppose that by interning Mrs.Besant, Mr.Arundale and Mr.Wadia

they can stop the movement. Nothing could have given this political movement a more thumping advertisement that this action of the government. Almost everywhere people discuss the situation and sleepy hollows are electrified into life when events follow events in Quick succession tending to show that the Indian government want to prohibit free discussion on political matters. The latest performance of the Bengal Government is almost astounding. The Government seems to be under theobsession that grave and elderly gentlemen like Dr.Rashbehari Ghosh, C.R. Das and others are linked together to talk sedition and the Government in their wisdom prohibit the dissemination of sedition by these veterans. To my mind it is rather strange that the ridiculous aspect of the whole situation does not appeal itself to the minds of the various persons that constitute the Government. Is it not ridiculous to suppose that men like Rash Behari Ghose are firebrands? Does not this aspect of the question suggest itself to responsible persons? And when and where has repression succeeded? Lord Morley in a speech he delivered to Indian Civil Service officers in 1908 said "We have seen attempts in the life-time of some of us to night in continental Europe to govern by pure repression. Has any of them really succeeded? They have all failed. There may now and then be a spurious resemblance of success but in truth they have failed." The above statement of Lord Morley is weighted with wisdom and I hope that persons in authority over us would bear this in mind. Instead of trying repression, let the Government formulate a scheme let a convention meet as the "Pioneer" itself suggests and let a solution be found for the impasse that has now arisen.

13. I have hitherto dealt with the political situation in some its aspects. With your permission, I want to advert again to the Brahmin and the Non-Brahmin question in order to avoid any misunderstandings. To you, Brahmins, who are more advanced in education I would say don't take advantage the start you have had and try to ourstrip the Non-Brahmins and thus rouse jealousy

in the hearts ~~in the~~ of the latter. To the Non-Brahmins I would say don't follow the ridiculous antiquarian researches that some of you are apparently making to make it appear that the Non-Brahmins have nothing to do with the Brahmins, that the ideal of Sri Rama and Sita, Savitri and Satyavan are no longer to be respected and followed, because the Brahmins and Non-Brahmins are fancied to be racially different. The great ideals that emerge luminiously from Hindu literative are ideals, so to speak, for the whole world and in your frenzied attempts to shake off the supposed Brahmin yoke do not lose touch with the great lessons of the past. Both the communities are indispensable to each other and instead of accusing each other for wrongs real of supposed inflicted on each other in remote ages of the past, try to co-operate with one another for the consummation of the ideals that all are striving for. Let me impress upon my Non-Brahmin brethren that through the vast ages of the history of Hinduism in India under Hindu rule all that tends to wealth and influence, to wit, the land, the sword and commerce have all along remained in the hands of the Non-Brahmins. Under Hindu self-rule the Non-Brahmin was politically the superior of the Brahmin just as the latter was spiritually the superior of the Non-Brahmin despite the supposed Priest craft of the "wily" Brahmin.

14. Let there be no varnashrama movement and let there be no Non-Brahmin movement along the lines they have now taken. It is the bounden duty of all citizens, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, to shed their exclusive ideals of rigid caste and to try to assimilate together into one homogeneous whole of a Hindu community conscious of its self-respect prepared to exercise its political powers for the welfare of all and to take its place in the councils of the Empire.

N608
RA 104